Communist Infiltration in the United States

Its Nature and How to Combat it

Chamber of Commerce of the United States

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Preface

The problem of Communist influence in our national life has taken on an entirely new significance since the close of World War II. So much has been said in the past decades on Communist infiltration in the United States that many of us are dangerously immune to the new threat and the devious paths this infiltration is now taking.

This report, prepared after the most painstaking research and verification, analyzes the nature of the techniques and devices now employed by the Communists as well as by their fellow-travelers to weaken us industrially and militarily. These groups have penetrated the labor movement, the church, literary, educational and other groups. Their influence in the government is considerable as the following documentation reveals.

The report also sets forth a program of counterattack, and it is hoped that all patriotic and democratic-minded persons will supply talent and energy to help to combat this menace among us. The program calls not for sweeping indictment and broadside attack, but for painstaking fact-gathering, interpretation and understanding. Given the facts, we will find a solution.

In the modern world, unsettled by the greatest wars and depressions in history, new groups come into power, unproven economic and political systems come into being, and traditional standards and customs often give way to chaos and ferment.

The first World War produced its brood of problems, not the least of which was the advent of Communism, Fascism and Nazism. The conflicts within and among these power systems in turn plunged us into another world war. The world writhed in agony, because men made political and economic mistakes.

After the fighting officially ceased in Europe and Asia in 1945, political ferment once again became the order of the day. Instead of the iron Statism of Germany and Italy during the thirties we now have two types of collectivism competing for favor in disturbed lands. The Soviet Union is evangelizing its creed of Communism in the nations which it controls. It is spending huge sums in propaganda efforts throughout the world. Many of

our citizens are its agents and sponsors, wittingly, and some unwittingly.

On the other hand, many nations outside the Soviet sphere are embracing the Socialist variety of collectivism which may be just as dangerous as Communism for freedom, religion and economic progress. England and France are in the vanguard in this movement, but undoubtedly they will have followers.

Even if the American citizen thinks that he is not yet directly affected by these movements, he can not afford to be indifferent toward them. Men do not think in a vacuum. Consciously or unconsciously they are influenced by their environment. Accordingly, it behooves us to make a fair examination of the new collectivism. Only in this way can we intelligently choose our own political and economic future.

This brochure makes an accurate and dispassionate appraisal of the new world trends, including the infiltration here among us. It endeavors to study their implications for the United States. With clear understanding, the way will be paved for enlightened action.

The Worship of the State

In the agony and chaos of recent years, we detect two recurrent themes. The first is the worship of the State. The second, and correlative theme, is the denial of the rights of the individual. As the State takes over, the individual must give way. The absolute State reached its malign perfection under Fascism, Nazism, and Communism. Under these regimes the State was all, the individual nothing. On the other hand, denial of the basic rights of man has existed, even where the evil tree of Statism has not taken root. Thus, in our own land we have movements of organized private power, intolerance and hatred. The Ku Klux Klan, the persecution of racial, religious, and national minorities, and even outright anti-democratic movements have had at least limited sway at different times in parts of the United States. Our democracy is great, but it is not perfect.

In analyzing these trends from the viewpoint of American policy, a student finds that their impact and importance vary considerably. Thus, Socialism is not a strongly organized movement here, although step by step we too may become victims of this form of collectivism. Its importance in some parts of Europe is great. Fascism and Nazism lost their effectiveness with the defeat of the Axis in the Second World War although the idea may not be dead.

Only in one of the cases portrayed above do we find a thoroughly organized and zealous campaign to introduce total tyranny in America. The Communist Party with its supporters alone is achieving real success in forcing upon us a program contrary to the ideals of our Nation. It is for this reason that the present study concentrates exclusively upon the Communist brand of State-worship and denial of the rights of man.

The Communist Creed

Under Communism, the State is the supreme master over the lives of its citizens. In its economic aspect, it is characterized by complete State ownership and control of productive property.

In the political field, Communism makes no pretense of granting freedom. The Soviet Union and the nations it controls are rigid dictatorships. Freedom of speech and assembly are denied. Dissent from government is considered treason, and is punished by all-powerful political police systems. Elections are merely formal, since no choice of candidates is offered. At times religion is openly persecuted, but under any circumstances tremendous obstacles are placed in its path.

There is no likelihood that Communism will ever tolerate freedom. Some of its adherents argue that the present stage (of nearly 30 years) is merely transitional. But there is no evidence that a reversal of policy is possible so long as Communism persists. On the contrary, controls are being tightened and extended as an inexorable result of its political and economic system. Certainly if freedom were to come, it would be a gift from those in power, and not a demand from those under subjection. Yet, history gives few examples of rulers who voluntarily relinquished absolute power.

Communism in Practice

Even a casual knowledge of life under Communism shows how language is debased when this system is classed as “peace-loving” and “democratic.” In Russia it has manifested itself by consistent expansionist policies and violations of treaties, as well portrayed by William C. Bullitt.[1] And the all-pervasive tyranny practiced upon its subjects would hardly merit the name “democracy.”

Americans take certain freedoms for granted. We find it hard to realize that today, after the overthrow of the Axis, hundreds of millions still live in virtual slavery. With some, it is actual slavery. The existence of Soviet slave camps for political prisoners, those who for one reason or another fell out of favor with the government, is not denied. It is more difficult to say with certainty the number of these hapless victims. The consensus of authorities holds that it is a minimum of ten million, and may range as high as thirty million.[2]

In America, labor is free, apparently free even to abuse its power to the detriment of the national welfare. But under Communism, the trade unions are agents of the State, used to discipline the workers in order to achieve higher production and political ends of the State. They are helpless to protect labor against cruel exploitation. Instances are cited in the Soviet press where workers were not paid for months. Yet, their unions dare not raise a voice against the autocracy of Communist factory managers. Only when the Party itself decides upon a purge are these conditions exposed and corrected.

This tyranny carries over into every phase of life. There is no freedom of expression in press, radio, or schools. Propaganda indoctrination is complete and total. Courts exist, not to defend rights, but only to prosecute criminal and political offenses. Religion is grudgingly tolerated today, so long as it remains a creature of the State, but it is not free in the sense that we conceive freedom. Worship is permitted to a limited degree, but no churchman would dare raise his voice against violations of the moral law. A Faulhaber or a Niemoller would be promptly liquidated by the ubiquitous secret police.

This absolute regimentation is apparently for export. It has been applied

systematically in the nations occupied by the Soviet authorities. Only the blind can fail to see the gross reality of Communism in action. Even if it were to bring economic benefits to its subjects, it would be at an intolerable price, the sacrifice of the basic rights of man. And, in fact, it has only changed the form of exploitation. Instead of the Tsar and the nobility living upon the toil of the workers, it is now the Commissar, the Party members and a few favorites who prosper while millions slave.[3]

1. *The Great Globe Itself*: New York, Scribner. See especially the appendix.

2. Not commonly recognized is the fact that this slavery is also a device for securing virtually costless labor.

3. For a calm portrayal of the Soviet system, see: “Communism in Action.” House Document 754, 79th Congress, 2nd Session. This can be obtained from your Congressman or Senator, or from the Superintendent of Documents at twenty-five cents a copy.

Communism an Organized Movement

Communism is an organized and even fanatical world movement. Its ideology holds that the opposition between it and private capitalism is complete and unalterable.[1] As a result, it holds that capitalism must die in the throes of bloody revolution. Such a movement cannot be appeased by improvements in the standard of living of the people in capitalist nations. It is dangerous to make any contrary assumption. Marx said that capitalism is essentially exploitive, that it must oppress the workers, and hence that it must be overthrown by force. Communists believe this with blind fanaticism and privately preach violent revolution. The successful working of free enterprise may make it difficult for Communism to gain recruits, but it will not dampen the faith of the confirmed Communist. Nor would it prevent the triumph of Communism here through conquest by a foreign power, aided by our domestic Fifth Column, namely, the infiltration of Communists and their sympathizers in government, the armed forces, labor, and other important spheres of American life.

This dogma of essential conflict must be understood in order properly to evaluate Soviet policy. Thus, when Stalin, in February, 1946, announced a vast military program to counter foreign "encirclement," and in September, 1946, derided the idea of encirclement as a myth, the average reader was confused. Actually, the first proclamation was in harmony with the basic principles of Communism. The subsequent retraction was but another temporary tactical retreat, similar to many others which Stalin describes in his own writings. Significantly, there was no let-up in military preparations or stay in aggressive Soviet actions to prove the sincerity of Stalin's "peace message."

1. The U. S. S. R. operates under state capitalism, in contrast to our voluntary private competitive capitalism.

The Comintern

As the instrument of the crusade to crush private capitalism, the Communist International has been organized. The aims of this world movement, called the Comintern, are to organize and stimulate Communist movements in all the nations of the world. Its openly professed objectives are to foster revolution in all capitalist lands. While technically distinct from the Soviet Government, it is in fact an agency of that State. Its headquarters are in Moscow and its leaders are the most powerful men in the Communist hierarchy.

The Comintern was ostensibly dissolved in 1943 as a gesture of cooperation between the Soviet Union and its allies. A detailed study of the *Report of the Royal Commission*, issued in June, 1946, in connection with the Canadian espionage trials, casts grave doubt upon the reality of the dissolution. On the contrary, there is documented and irrefutable evidence that the Comintern organized major espionage rings among its allies throughout the war.

Furthermore, the scope of coordinated propaganda activities of the Comintern since war's end is almost unbelievable both in extent and intensity. Such widely diverse regions as the Arab world, the colonial countries of Asia and the newly independent Philippines, and practically all Latin American countries are being thoroughly cultivated. Comintern agents were the guiding forces behind the 1946 elections in Chile, where Communists showed astonishing strength. In the small island of Cuba, they have a powerful radio station and a subsidized news service, both used to spread propaganda through other Latin American countries. Their staff in Mexico is large and skillfully organized.

Little information has been released in regard to Comintern activities in the United States. Nevertheless, the Canadian Report shows that the several groups there worked closely with similar and more extensive rings in the United States. It also reveals that the Tass News Agency in New York sends lengthy reports to the Soviet Union, of which only an infinitesimal fraction is used for the Soviet press. Purchasing commissions and other economic groups transmit most minute details of commercial and industrial activity, sending abroad tons of blueprints and elaborate reports. In the fields of military and diplomatic secrets, according to the Canadian Commission, the

Comintern seeks and usually obtains detailed and circumstantial accounts.

The Canadian Report indicates that the present headquarters of the Comintern are still in Moscow. Nevertheless, there are indications that some of its functions have been transferred to Paris. At least, this latter city is the headquarters for the various international Communist groups of labor, youth, and women. Other groups still to be formed, such as a world federation of scientists, will undoubtedly center there. This transfer permits such groups to pose as democratic organizations. Furthermore, Paris is a better communication center for the purpose of reaching Western Europe and the Americas.

The spirit of this movement was expressed by Comrade Yudin, one of the chief molders of the USSR policy, as quoted by Victor Kravchenko in *I Chose Freedom*: “There are two worlds… The two worlds of capitalism and Communism cannot forever exist side by side. As long as we exist in a capitalist encirclement, we are in danger.” Stalin reiterated this same view in his February, 1946, address.

Soviet Expansionism

In addition to the ideology of Communism, many persons see in the Comintern a tool of a new form of old-fashioned power politics. Indeed, the Trotsky branch of Communism maintains that the Stalinists have deserted Marx and are merely seeking personal power on a world scale. Whatever be the merits of this theory, it is a fact that the Soviet Union has expanded its territories tremendously as a result of the war. It currently controls Eastern and much of Central Europe, the Balkans (except Greece), Manchuria, Northern Korea and North China. It is pressing towards Turkey and the Near East, in order to control the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf.

The Soviet Union has openly announced plans for the greatest army, navy, air force, and military scientific arm in the world. It is questionable whether its own industrial potential could maintain such a force, although the new five-year plans are directed towards such a goal. But Soviet technology has been strengthened through the use of German and Czech workers and technology. Currently, the Soviet Union is putting pressure upon Sweden to orient its economy towards the East. Many analysts feel that the Molotov plan for a unified Germany would bring all German technology within the Soviet sphere. If the skill of the West can be wedded to the unlimited human and natural resources of the East, within twenty years the Soviet Union might be more powerful militarily than any combination of nations arrayed against her.[1]

Against this background of Soviet hostility towards the capitalist world, gigantic military preparations, and an unabashed expansionist policy, the role of the Comintern seems ominous. It is revealed as a Fifth Column preparing the way for internal Communist revolution, when feasible, or for conquest from without by imperial Communism. It is at once an agency for espionage and revolutionary agitation. Such were the clear findings of the Canadian Commissioners, who reported that domestic Communists admitted a loyalty to the Soviet Union higher than that to their own country.

1. See “Communism in Action,” p. 100.

The Workings of the Comintern

The Comintern supervises the several national Communist parties in the different countries. Where they are weak, it pours in funds and organizers. Where they are strong, it directs policy in accord with a master plan. Normally, Communist parties everywhere hold to the same line, although special circumstances may permit or even dictate deviation as a matter of tactics.

An interesting example of the latter concerns Argentina. When American Communists both in and outside of the government were pressuring our government to attack Perón, Latin American Communists were denouncing this policy as Yankee imperialism. The result was the alienation of much of Latin America from us, and successful efforts by the Soviet Union to cultivate Argentina. Then the American Communist policy was changed to meet the new situation, denunciations of Perón ceased, and the new regime was openly approved. Similarly, Italian Communists may favor the retention of Trieste, and French Communists may agitate for French acquisition of the Rhineland.

Such uniformity and flexibility is possible only through the iron discipline which all Communist parties maintain. Outsiders sometimes find drastic overnight changes in policy ludicrous, but they illustrate the strength of Communist control over its members. Communists do not find such changes difficult, because they are carefully indoctrinated to subordinate truth to policy. They expect tactical changes in accord with the master strategy of overthrowing private capitalism. They have a blind faith in the wisdom of the Soviet policy.

In addition to discipline, Communists excel in organization and planning. They zealously exploit every mistake or failure in the country where they live. They seek constantly to obtain positions in government and in agencies which can influence public opinion. They agitate continuously for strife in the domestic labor movements. They exploit the grievances of minority groups. They are particularly adept in forming “front” organizations, to use persons who would never consciously collaborate with Communism. And discipline, zeal, conspiracy, and secrecy have produced important results.

Why Do People Become Communists?

The system just described seems so fantastic to most Americans that it is almost incredible. Indeed, the Canadian investigating commission was hard put to explain why so many citizens professed a higher loyalty to a political power outside their borders. In fact, the motivation of Communists and their followers is extremely complex and *unless* this fact is recognized, countermeasures are likely to be ineffective.

With a few, it is a perverted form of idealism, a worldly substitute for religion. Some people are personally maladjusted and are chronic rebels. The Communist movement gives them an outlet. Many became Communists as a reaction against abuses in the present social and political order. In particular, many Communists are rebels against one or another form of exploitation. In certain cases, their conversion may be traced to some bitter experience in the labor field. Others may have felt discrimination because they were members of minority groups. To such persons, Communism is preached as a doctrine which *promises* equality to all.

Many intellectuals have been won over to Communism on the basis of rosy accounts of life in the Soviet Union. These persons are well aware of the faults in our own system, and have been led to believe that in Russia none of these evils exists. When the faults of Communism are called to their attention, they either dismiss the charges as capitalist propaganda or else consider them as transitional evils to be overlooked in the great promise of the future. The urge to remake the world is strong among some intellectuals. Some are sufficiently detached from everyday life to be indifferent to the cruel sufferings of the so-called transitional period.

Other motives are less creditable. Some individuals in civic and labor politics appreciate the support of a disciplined minority. They know the value of the publicity which it affords. Such persons follow the Party for motives of expediency rather than conviction. In other cases, vanity may suffice. This is particularly true of specialists who feel their inadequacy in broader affairs. A scientist or a motion picture star is often highly flattered in being asked to

address a political meeting. In Hollywood, Communists arranged a meeting peopled by motion picture stars and scientists, each group attracted by the prospect of meeting the other. This technique of using celebrities is widely practiced.

Finally, many liberals follow the Communist line through confused good will. As one writer put it, some persons are so busy doing good that they fail to realize the harm their efforts cause. These are the “joiners,” who readily give their names to any organization whose apparent purpose is noble. Thus the president of a great State university has become affiliated with some twenty such “fronts.” Actually, in scores of cases such names and money are used to promote Communist causes. The Party has even enlisted persons of wealth to support its causes through the medium of these “front” groups. Even a casual study of the power and influence of Communist “fronts” should dispel the notion that the Party is weak and ineffectual.

Communist Fronts

It is impossible to realize the extent of Communist influence in American life without some knowledge of the "front" technique. Except possibly during the War period, everything labeled Communist is suspect to the average citizen. Accordingly, if public opinion is to be influenced, it must be done in an indirect and concealed manner. To do this, the Communists evolved the masterful strategy of the "front" organization. The setting up of a front involves two main steps. The first is the discovery of a proper cause and label. The cause is usually some form of alleged injustice or a proposed reform which will arouse the interest of the public, particularly the group which styles itself liberal. The label is some high-sounding word or phrase, such as "democratic," "peace," and the like.

When the issue is picked and the title decided, the case is presented dramatically to some "innocent," who is both prominent and willing to have his name used for a "good" cause. His name is used as the bait to attract others, until a rather impressive list is obtained. Then the organization is announced publicly, funds are raised, and propaganda and pressure activities are begun. Communists, not generally known as such, do the work for such groups and occupy the active, in contrast to the honorary, offices. They determine policies and direct the front in accord with the Party aims. The well-meaning sponsors are usually too busy even to inquire into the activities of the group to which they have given their names.

Some fronts are permanent, particularly those which deal with some constant Communist objective. Thus, for youth, the Communists have the American Youth for Democracy. To win over the Negroes, they have the National Negro Congress. In the field of insurance, particularly among the foreign-born, there is the International Workers Order. Other fronts, by contrast, are temporary. Such is the committee which in 1946 is staging the various "Win-the-Peace" rallies throughout the country. Other illustrations could be taken from groups promoting some specific foreign policy. Thus there would be committees for a "democratic" China, Greece or Japan.

One of the more prominent and apparently respectable fronts today is the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions (I. C. C.). This group has been successful in gaining publicity and support which

would never have been accorded to the Communist Party. It has enlisted aid from persons who would not consciously collaborate with Communists. Yet, the Party has claimed credit (in its 1945 New York State Convention) for founding the I. C. C. A large number of I. C. C. directors have participated in pro-Soviet activities. Its line on controversial issues is identical with that of the *Daily Worker*, the national Communist paper. While there have been some resignations because of its leftist leanings, at this writing it is still a powerful influence in the liberal community.[1]

Not to be confused with Communist fronts are the various infiltrated organizations. A front is organized by the Party and for the Party. An infiltrated group was organized for a legitimate purpose by citizens loyal primarily to the United States. Subsequent to its formation, Communists, by various devices, have obtained some degree of control. At times, this control is extensive, as with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare or the American Veterans Committee. At other times, it is local, as is the case with some chapters of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People or some locals of non-Communist labor unions. Infiltration has been discovered in surprising places, even in religious publications and seminaries, among atomic scientists, and in research groups dealing with foreign policy.

The net effect of such activities was well summarized by J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, in his speech before the American Legion on September 30th, 1946:

> "The fact that the Communist Party in the United States claims some 100,000 members has lulled many Americans into a feeling of false complacency. I would not be concerned if we were dealing with only 100,000 Communists. The Communists themselves boast that for every Party member there are ten others ready to do the Party's work. These include their satellites, their fellow-travelers and their so-called progressive and phony liberal allies. They have maneuvered themselves into positions where a few Communists control the destinies of hundreds who are either willing to be led or have been duped into obeying the dictates of others."

1. For an extensive and accurate partial list of Communist fronts, see Andrew Avery, "The Communist Fifth Column," *Chicago Journal of Commerce*, ten cents.

What Communism Means to America

The system just described in general terms is by no means remote from American life. On the contrary, it affects us in many important ways. Among these the first in order of importance may well be the domain of international affairs. One has but to accept the surface, not the worst, interpretation of recent Soviet moves, and one is left with profound feelings of disquiet.

The Soviet Union has proclaimed its intention to become the greatest military power on earth. It has already stretched beyond its borders to absorb nearly half of Europe and some of the richest parts of Asia. Parties under its control are active in the other half of Europe, with reasonable chances of extending Soviet influence to the Atlantic. Finally, the Comintern is meddling in most of the rest of the world, with special attention to Latin America, the orient, colonial countries, and the Arab world. Its theme is one of unremitting hostility towards the English-speaking world.

When this activity is compared with that of the Axis during the late Thirties, the points of similarity are greater than the points of difference. Those who then perceived the drift before others and cried out, as did Winston Churchill, were called warmongers. The same treatment is given today to those who observe the well-publicized facts summarized above. Yet we would be remiss in duty towards our country if we ignored them. We know that the Soviet people themselves want peace and good will towards other nations. But in the too familiar pattern, their leaders feed them warlike propaganda instead of peace, and military preparations instead of a higher standard of living. Observers of these facts tend to discount Stalin’s peace line of September, 1946, as being a mere tactical move. The axiom that actions speak louder than words must be invoked once again against world Communism.

What Communism Means to World Trade

If the recital of facts as given above savors too much of prediction, attention might be called to the immediate repercussions of Communism in the international sphere. Some American firms have suffered directly through the confiscation of their property abroad. We have virtually lost all oil wells and refineries in the Balkans, as well as giant industrial plants in Germany and Hungary. While present and future losses of this type may not be a major item to the Nation as a whole, they are a serious loss to the investors involved. They are a blow to future international investment, so badly needed to restore world production and American foreign trade. Thus, would American investors be wise to develop regions of Latin America or China, if it were probable that Communist régimes would arise to seize possession of this wealth?

Present Communist policies are badly disruptive of world trade. They have cut off the Danube, one of the great waterways of commerce. They are paralyzing economic life in Hungary, Austria, Korea, and Italy. Their reparations demands upon Italy are such as to make this nation an economic satellite. Strong pressure is being put upon Sweden and Denmark with the same aim. In many regions they are engaged in pre-emptive buying of scarce raw materials, disrupting prices and production in other lands. Thus, they seek hides from Uruguay and linseed oil from Argentina. Some of these products are not needed for their own economy. The time will come when the destructive character of these activities to multilateral trade will work to our disadvantage.

Communists and the Labor Movement

Communists have striven successfully to infiltrate the American labor movement. Organized labor, when captured, is to them a source of funds, a propaganda outlet, a means for stirring discontent, and, if necessary, a weapon of sabotage. Controlled unions contribute heavily to the various Party fronts and causes. They in turn serve as fronts for diverse propaganda schemes. They can picket consulates and government offices with practiced skill. When conditions warrant, strikes can be provoked so as to create the atmosphere of unrest in which Communism thrives. And, finally, if Comintern policy so dictates, they can actually sabotage essential production. Thus, the 1945 shipping strike “to bring back the soldiers” (American, not Russian) was an example of political sabotage.

In general, American Communists have been more successful in seizing power in the Congress of Industrial Organizations than in the American Federation of Labor. In the latter organization, they have some strength in New York and Los Angeles, and scattered control elsewhere. They have achieved real footholds in the painters union, in the hotel and restaurant unions, and in the film and stage unions. They are seeking, with some success, to infiltrate some of the independent railroad unions and the International Association of Machinists. But their stronghold is the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

History explains this success. When John L. Lewis sought to organize mass production industry, he suffered from an acute shortage of trained organizers. He used experienced Communist help, planning to discard it when the task was done. Nevertheless, he was outmaneuvered. Communists installed themselves and their sympathizers in key positions in many of the new unions. The newly organized workers, with no experience in unionism, were no match for these skilled tacticians. The result was that in union after union, Communists controlled the top levels, although the membership was overwhelmingly American in its sympathies. In spite of this fact, the C. I. O. has been slow to learn. When its Southern organizing drive bogged down in 1946, it quietly accepted support from Communist organizers. Earlier

statements that no leftist aid would be used were conveniently ignored.

Present Trend in the Labor Movement

The situation today is fluid, since Communist control is being occasionally challenged with success. On the other hand, Communists in turn make new gains periodically. At the time of this writing, two excellent surveys have been made of radicalism in labor.[1] The correctness of these studies is attested privately by non-Communist labor leaders.

In general, the studies found that Communists had control of about one-third of the voting strength of the C. I. O. Executive Board. Their die-hard opponents controlled about one-fifth. Among the remainder, there were enough fellow-travelers to bring Communist strength to a majority in complex and obscure issues, such as foreign policy. On domestic issues the lines have been sharply drawn, with non-Communists having the balance of power.

1. In early 1946, the Research Institute of America published a highly accurate listing of the leanings in C. I. O. unions. In June and July of the same year, Andrew Avery wrote an especially competent series of articles for the *Chicago Journal of Commerce*, op. cit. See bibliography.

How Communists Control Labor

While communists initially seized power through organizing unions, they maintain or lose control largely in terms of their strength in the locals of these unions. To understand their control over labor, it is vitally necessary to realize how they gain control over the various locals. If they must start from scratch in a given situation, they usually send a few key organizers to work in a plant to join a union. These men show skill in speaking and fighting for workers' "rights," and soon obtain a minor office. At the same time, they cultivate ambitious opportunists and disgruntled minorities.

When they are ready to seize control, they usually make impossible demands upon the existing union officers and circulate slanderous rumors about them. Then they form an election slate consisting of opportunists with some following, representatives of racial and national minorities, and pleasant but weak characters who will be dependent upon them for advice. In large plants, where personal knowledge of the union officers is slight, the rumor campaigns and the aggressive program put out by the Communists are usually sufficient to install their slate in office in whole or in part.

Once Communists have gained power in a local, they often try to expel or discredit any potential opposition. They prolong meetings so that the membership will not attend. This permits their minority to vote funds, pass resolutions, and adopt action programs. By such tactics they often perpetuate power indefinitely. If in the beginning the Communists control the international union, they can often assume and maintain power from the very beginning of a new local.

Such tactics explain the comparative helplessness of non-Communists such as Philip Murray and James Carey. Carey was deposed from his own giant union, the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers, when he opposed the Communist clique which dominated it. The issues at the time were the Hitler-Stalin pact, our foreign policy, and national defense. Murray does not dare to discharge the two powerful Communist officials who exercise such major influence in the national C. I. O. He submits to a large proportion of Communists among the legislative representatives of the C. I. O. unions. He tamely accepts resolution after resolution which show remarkable similarity to the Communist Party Line.

Communist Labor and the Businessman

Until recently the average American tended to dismiss such maneuverings as something foreign to his life. But the tremendous power of labor today permits no such complacency. Many an industrialist and businessman, and millions of union workers, have learned from experience that these moves do affect their lives vitally. When a businessman or industrialist finds that nothing he does can please his union, he tends at first to form a sour view of organized labor. But, as he becomes more sophisticated, he realizes that his difficulties may not arise from his own workers, who usually understand his problems, but from the outside forces controlling his local union. Their demands are insatiable, because they thrive on trouble. His workers are no more happy than he in such a situation but they are not trained to cope with it. They may at times even be constrained to support extreme and impossible demands.

Even where workers or their employers are not directly involved they are often affected in an oblique manner. The national policies of organized labor, if influenced by the Communists, can sometimes involve unions led by non-Communists. This is particularly the case where the objective *seems* reasonable to labor. An instance of this would be the Political Action Committee of the C. I. O. The general principle that labor has an interest in politics is almost as old as unionism itself. The more direct and aggressive methods of the C. I. O. are new and in contrast to the established approach of the A. F. of L. Even here, however, many workers who are by no means radical would accept the new approach.

The result is that practically all C. I. O. unions readily support P. A. C. Its philosophy and its program sound reasonable to them. What they do not realize is the nature of the forces which infiltrated this program. While Hillman was not a Communist, nor is Philip Murray, two of their top advisers are Communists, taking direct and frequent orders on P. A. C. policies from the very top levels of the Communist Party. At the other end of the scale, in many cities and regions, the local committees are Communist-controlled. They have the organization for ringing doorbells and getting out the vote.

The easy thing is to use them, and many labor leaders take the easy way. As a result, at the time of writing such important Councils as those in New York and Detroit are Communist-controlled.

The direct national effect of Communist infiltration in P. A. C. may not have been serious. A few candidates deserving of labor's favor may have suffered because their foreign policy was opposed to the Communist line. A half dozen Communists may have gotten into our national legislature. The net effect of these moves would not be tragic. The real danger lies in the threat of the future. The feared power of P. A. C. forces politicians to select candidates in accord with the views of those who control the vote. In the day by day running of government, administrators hesitate to clash with the left wing, lest their Party suffer reprisals at the polls. It was the follow-up of the November 1944 elections in the form of pressure, demands, and suggestions which made left-wing control of P. A. C. a real force in shaping national policy.

Nor should the ambition of the local leader be overlooked. When a Communist minority can give the aggressive support needed to win an election, some politicians are willing to give their verbal aid in some specific policy, in order to obtain their help. Thus, a governor may attack our so-called "tough" policy towards Russia, knowing that he has no direct responsibility to make good on his promises. This has happened, not only in large metropolitan centers, but also in some less settled Southern and Western states. It was the cumulative effect of all these moves which led to increased Communist influence in both domestic and foreign policies of the United States.

Communism and Government

Both truth and much nonsense have been written about Communist penetration into government. There were those who visualized all New Dealers as starry-eyed radicals. Some labeled any program which changed the established order of things as Communist. This loose use of terms has caused considerable mischief. The result has been that at times the Communists could take credit for widely popular reform measures. Indiscriminate denunciation threatened to make Communism quite respectable. This was unfortunate, since it covered up a real and dangerous penetration of government.

Communist penetration of government since 1933 stems primarily from one phenomenon: the broadmindedness of the average liberal both in government and on the outside. The period characterized as the New Deal was humanitarian and reformist in its aims. As a result, there flocked to Washington large numbers of self-styled liberals, bent on reforming the Nation's economic system and curing social ills as seen by them. Bold experimentation became the order of the day. Our capitalist system was alleged to be so feeble that only daring and even recklessness could save the day.

In such an atmosphere, practically any philosophy was tolerated, provided only that it promised some modification of capitalist free enterprise. No political system was too extreme for the liberal to treat with sympathy, save only Fascism, which Communist propaganda had cleverly distorted into a "tool of reactionary big business." It was only natural that under these conditions, a considerable portion of Communists attained civil service status. Some reached positions of authority. Once they had power, they behaved in a most illiberal manner. They were careful to appoint only likeminded individuals to offices under their control, and they schemed relentlessly to drive their opponents from government service. They achieved a considerable measure of success.

Communist Fronts as Lobbyists

Even more serious in the long run were the effects of Communist pressure groups upon the liberals. Pressure came through two broad channels. The first was the leftwing press, so widely read and highly regarded in Washington. Newspapers such as *PM* and periodicals such as the *Nation* and the *New Republic* enjoyed almost a sacrosanct status among many government officials. These publications in turn were pro-Soviet and often followed faithfully the Communist line. Indeed, the Washington staff of *PM* recently resigned, alleging continued Communist domination of the paper.[1]

The tactics of these periodicals followed the familiar "club and carrot" technique so well used by the Communists. Favored public officials and policies were praised to the skies, while those disliked were flayed unmercifully. An illustration of their success can be found in the Department of State. By attacking this Department, and certain individuals, as reactionary and Fascist, this group succeeded in driving many faithful public servants from the government. Their successors were more careful not to offend such an aggressive group. They made appointments and advocated policies which would not be attacked by the vigorous leftist press. The result was the disastrous era of appeasement of Russia, the bitter fruits of which we have harvested since VJ Day.

The second major vehicle of pressure consists of the many Communist "fronts" and controlled organizations. These groups are adept at creating publicity and thus forcing adoption of their policies at Washington. If the general public is uninformed and indifferent as to American interests in a given situation, such as China, it is relatively easy for a pressure group to have its way. They may not exert much pressure but it is the only pressure felt, and it is all in one direction.

1. In this connection, see "A Tour of the Leftist Press" by Eugene Lyons, in The Nations Business, August, 1946.

Inside Contacts

Naturally these outside influences are the more influential because of their lieutenants within government offices. Front research groups have been successful in placing “specialists” in the government bureaus. This is particularly true in the field of foreign affairs. These inside contacts in turn give the “fronts” advance information. As a result, propaganda and coercive efforts can be prepared carefully and released before the general public is aware that an issue has arisen. Thus, all too frequently, those whose interest is primarily American are on the defensive and often beaten before the battle begins.

Such was the case in regard to major policy decisions on China, Argentina, and Germany, to be described subsequently. The Communist hue and cry was in full operation at the moment that vital decisions were to be made. By contrast, more patriotic and far-sighted forces had to content themselves with protesting after unsound government policies had been followed.

In connection with Communist influence in government, some mention should be made of their use of the balance of power. It is axiomatic in politics that where opposing forces are fairly evenly divided, an organized minority can decide the issue. Communists have used such methods in both civic and labor politics.

One illustration may show the importance of their tactics. Communists and their sympathizers control the American Labor Party in New York City. This in turn often has the balance of power in a State whose vote is vital in a Presidential election. The result is that at times twenty thousand Communists can put great pressure upon both the major parties in the United States. Such a balance, of course, is precarious. But if the Communists through P. A. C. ever substantially control the organized labor vote, they will be much more assured of the whip hand.

The Results of Communism in Government

Some concrete illustrations will show the effectiveness of Communist infiltration and pressure tactics. They will be taken from the field of foreign policy, since this is the current Communist concentration. The first concerns the Potsdam policy in Germany. The long-range Communist policy on Germany was two-fold. The Comintern was to stir up pressure for a hard peace and unconditional surrender. This was to turn the German people against the Western Allies.

In Russia itself, however, a much softer note was taken. A distinction was made between the Nazis and the German people. A committee of German prisoners including leading generals was formed in Moscow. When the Russians occupied Germany, after some excesses by undisciplined troops, a policy of conciliation was put into effect. Factories in the East hummed with activity, producing arms for Russia, while Americans and British concentrated upon de-Nazification!

In accord with this policy, American Communists formed fronts and used their influence in government to force a harsh peace upon Germany. Through their control of certain influential officials in the Treasury Department at the time, they agitated for the Potsdam agreement, based upon a Treasury policy previously urged at the Quebec Conference. The result has been an unworkable economic program. German industry was cut to such levels that exports would be insufficient to purchase needed food. Rich agricultural regions were ceded to Poland and the Soviet, yet the industrial Western section was supposed to survive without these food sources. Plants were not permitted to manufacture badly needed fertilizers. Locomotives could not be made at a time when Europe's transport was paralyzed. Such a program could lead only to anarchy. Experts agree that its immediate effects were widespread misery and starvation in Western Germany. Its ultimate effects may be the driving of Western Germany into the Soviet sphere, since here alone it could obtain food. Thus, the entire economic resources of Germany could be integrated into the Soviet master plan for industrial and military supremacy.

A similar situation existed in regard to American policy on Argentina and China. In the former case, pressure groups denounced the Perón government and successfully urged American intervention. The State Department issued a series of charges immediately prior to an election in Argentina. Argentine citizens rebelled against such an obvious effort to control their internal affairs. In reaction, they overwhelmingly elected the candidate which our government opposed. The result was a decisive repudiation of our policy by Argentina, and a loss of prestige throughout Latin America. Other nations resented the apparent revival of "Yankee imperialism" in place of the Good Neighbor policy. Local Communists in these countries fanned the fires against the United States. Then the Soviet Union stepped in and cultivated our disgruntled good neighbors.

In China we had an opportunity to obtain a powerful friend. If we lost China to Communism, hundreds of millions would be available for slave labor and military service in accord with the Soviet master plan. Our debt of gratitude to Chiang and his government was great, even though their imperfections were admitted. So urgent was the need to keep China in the war, that at Cairo we solemnly pledged the return of Manchuria to China. This promise was cynically betrayed at Yalta, where the Soviet Union was given an immense booty for a nominal participation in the Far Eastern war.

At Yalta, the Soviet Union was given concessions in Manchuria and North China so extensive as to threaten the continued sovereignty of the national government over these rich regions. These economic concessions were not only a repudiation of our promise to China, they were also an abandonment of our long-standing "open-door policy" in regard to that nation. More recently we treated a rebellious faction, loyal to a foreign power, as equal to a long-suffering ally.

From the moral point of view, such procedure was a cynical betrayal of trust. From the aspect of American interest, it was likewise a subordination of American policy to Russian aspirations. Yet such a policy sprang from the two-fold source mentioned above. Pressure groups were highly active, aided by the strongly pro-Soviet groups in the Far Eastern wing of the Department of State. History may judge harshly the decisions made in 1945 and 1946.

Communists and Public Opinion

In addition to the specialized pressure activities noted above, the Communists have other techniques for influencing public opinion. They have endeavored to penetrate the general press, radio, book and magazine publishing, motion pictures, and lecture fields. Details of their success would consume too much space, but the sampling given in the *Chicago Journal of Commerce* booklet "The Communist Fifth Column" leaves little doubt that their accomplishments are real. The techniques noted below are illustrative rather than exhaustive.

Radio commentators are important molders of opinion. Only a few on national networks are Communist or consistent followers of the Party Line. But great skill and pressure are exerted to keep the remainder under some control. To achieve this, one of the more prominent Communist front groups has established a quiet monitoring service. Broadcasts are combed to detect any tendency towards a so-called anti-Soviet line. If such is found, a "spontaneous" letter-writing campaign commences, with letters to the sponsor, the station, and the commentator. The effectiveness of this has been demonstrated in more than one case. On the positive side, such molders of opinion are flooded with free literature, digests, and the like. One noted columnist and commentator finds that the employing of a Communist research assistant pays off in the form of inside information, advance tips, and the like, from Party members and their followers in government.

Communists have worked hard to use the motion pictures and the legitimate theatre as propaganda weapons. Their national leader, William Z. Foster, has openly laid down the line to be followed in this regard, and Dalton Trumbo, a leading pro-Communist scenarist, has listed pictures which they have sponsored and others which they have blocked. The list of Hollywood stars available for front organizations is long and prominent. Some of the best propaganda brains of the Party are employed by our entertainment industry. Often we have the incongruity of business firms hiring such talent to write radio plays which subtly attack the system which sponsors them. Businessmen need to develop more sophistication in these matters.

One of the most interesting attempts at totalitarian control of thought is the plan issued in July, 1946, for an American Authors' Authority. The Authority

is to be a marketing monopoly which will copyright and lease to users *all* writings by American authors. It is to begin with scripts for screen and radio and articles for magazines. By controlling this lucrative field, it will be the exclusive agent for America's most successful writers. This in turn will furnish a club to force all publishers and other users to employ only Authority material. The alternative will be the denial of manuscripts by the writers under the Authority's control. The grip on the publishers will then force recalcitrant authors into the Authority and the related guilds.

It is obvious that these techniques are similar to those used successfully by Petrillo in forcing musicians to join his union and compelling radio and recording groups to follow his rules. The language and methods outlined when the plan was proposed leave no other interpretation. Significantly, this proposal appeared in the *Screen Writer*, edited by Dalton Trumbo, who writes for several Communist publications. It was overwhelmingly accepted by the Communist-dominated Screen Writers' Guild and Radio Writers' Guild. It is currently being considered by the Authors' League.

In reaction, over a hundred of America's most prominent authors have been compelled to divert their talents and energies by forming an American Writers' Association to oppose thought control for the United States. Whether or not the Authority succeeds in its announced aims, it furnishes a graphic illustration of Communist objectives. If it succeeds in its original form, Communists and their sympathizers will literally be able to dictate to every publication agency for influencing public opinion.

Thus far, in the book, periodical, and general press fields, Communists have had considerable temporary success, although much of it was due to special war conditions. Wartime restraints and government accreditation of correspondents, plus the Washington-inspired notion that any criticism of Communism or the Soviet Union was virtual treason during the War, effectively restricted the American press. Direct pressure was infrequent. Usually the subtle suggestion that anything offensive to Russia would ultimately cost American lives was sufficient. These conditions have changed, as is witnessed by the frank revelations about Russia since March, 1946. Communists in the government are still attempting to use the press through giving out in advance exclusive news favorable to their cause. The idea is to create a friendly press through this method of favoritism and to give their programs the impetus of an early start. A friendly correspondent gets more beats and is thus more useful to his newspaper or wire service.

Again Communists have scored some enduring and spectacular, if isolated successes. Thus, a prominent and highly regarded metropolitan newspaper has followed the Communist line in its reporting and editorials on foreign

affairs. A well-known conservative magazine from a conservative city, and a book firm in the same city, have consistently followed this line in recent years. An attractive digest magazine has never deviated from Soviet policy, and is currently sponsoring a lecture service. These illustrations could be expanded almost without limit.

A Clouded Picture

The total result of all these activities presents a clouded picture from the viewpoint of American interests. The composite story would seem fantastic, if each of its parts had not been carefully documented before the Chamber of Commerce of the USA authorized the publication of this report. As a sample of the zeal and skill which goes into even minor details, one might consult Canada Lee's account of the promotion efforts for the play "On Whitman Avenue," narrated in *The New York Times*, August 11, 1946, after the play had received an adverse reception. It is a brilliant account of how left-wing groups work, and how they achieve success where others fail. When critics almost unanimously gave an adverse judgment, the promoters turned to unorthodox channels. They appealed to union weeklies, the press serving minority groups, and to scores of organizations of every type. "We jimmied our way onto every possible radio program, we talked to teachers in schools, we called on our friends and neighbors, we talked to the barbers who cut our hair, and left leaflets everywhere we went." The result was increasing attendance for a play which had aroused enthusiasm only in the left-wing press.

The only conclusion obtainable from the facts is that the American Communist Party is an important and growing influence in our national life. It is using this influence exclusively in the interests of the Soviet Union. It opposes both political democracy and free enterprise, and operates with surprising effectiveness against both. Unfortunately, this influence has been seriously underestimated, often because of inept and uninformed attacks on Communism.

Counterattack

To meet the menace of Communism, the first need is to get the facts before the American public. In so far as the system is an attack upon free enterprise, the American businessman has a duty to show both in theory and in practice the superior merits of our present way of life.[1] But this is not enough. It attacks only one segment of a major problem. Communism thrives on secrecy and deceit. If its machinations were exposed to the public, if its front groups had the mask torn from them, its influence domestically would rapidly shrink. The same weapon of fearless truth should be used against the inhumanity within the Soviet Union. It should be shown as the ruthless dictatorship it is, rather than as a "peace-loving democracy."

The great need today is fact-gathering of unquestioned integrity and competence. Such research must content itself solely and rigorously with exposing the truth about Communism. It should not favor any special interest, no matter how legitimate and useful. Many important groups in America today are opposed to Communism. Church, veterans, business, anti-Communist labor, fraternal, and foreign-language associations all attack this evil. Their individual efforts have been largely ineffective, partly because of lack of adequate information and want of concerted action.

1. See: THE AMERICAN COMPETITIVE ENTERPRISE SYSTEM, by the Chamber of Commerce of the USA, Washington 6, D. C., 1946.

Destroying the Fifth Column

Publicity alone will not solve the problem. Much Communist success, as in the labor field, is due primarily to organizational methods. To uproot Communists from labor unions and to expose them in the literary world, the American-minded majority must be trained and organized, so that it will not be dominated by a disciplined minority. Labor education today is vitally needed. Some unions excel in this field, but those which need it most do not want their members too competent. A start has been made in this direction by a labor extension education service, in the Department of Labor, comparable to that afforded to farmers by the Department of Agriculture. Naturally, precautions should be taken to see that this remains in competent hands, since Communist influence in the Department of Labor is increasing. Labor education likewise could be fostered by State and local governments, and by church and patriotic groups.

The businessman who deals with a Communist labor union must realize that he faces a specialized problem. He is not normally trained to meet it, or even to recognize it. He, too, needs guidance and education. Unless, however, he becomes trained in this matter, he will be unable to distinguish real grievances from political demands.[1]

We cannot be complacent about Communist influence in government. The Canadian experience should be ample warning as to the dangers faced in this regard. Unfortunately, inept attempts to purge Communists have discredited the whole program. As a result, today the Civil Service Commission is starved for funds. There is an immediate need of reinstituting the practice of careful screening of new government employees, and even of existing employees where strong reasons exist to doubt their loyalty. Nor should proof be required that a given subject is actually a member of the Communist Party. If he follows its line, joins its front groups consistently, and shows constant sympathy with its aims, he should be open to question. Such activities reflect either upon his loyalty or his judgment. Deficiency on either count should disqualify him from public service.

Serious thought should be given today to exposure of the activities of the Communist Party. This proposal is advocated with great reluctance, because our traditions of freedom are rightfully sacred. Yet, we have never extended

the principle of freedom so far that we have countenanced sedition and treason. These strong words are accurate in describing the activities of the Communist Party. This Party is loyal to a foreign power which is constantly professing hostility toward us. It is engaged in secret and conspiratorial activities within our borders. In Canada, at least, it has been a breeding ground for espionage agents against its own government.

It is doubtful prudence for any free government to tolerate movements which are directed towards the violent destruction of democracy. If such movements are weak and ineffectual, they may be ignored. But the Communist Party, although small in numbers, is neither weak nor ineffectual. Hence the least we can do in the way of self-protection is to demand that the Communist membership lists and sources of funds be made available for public inspection. The Department of Justice should use this and other information to expose front organizations in their true light. Probably the searchlight of publicity would be sufficient to prevent Communists from spreading their message through deceit. Of course, any communication of secret information to agents of a foreign power should be summarily punished.

It would be wise to establish a principle of reciprocity with other nations in regard to entry and rights of their respective citizens and representatives. It is ludicrous that the United States, which is permitted an embassy, two consulates in the Soviet Union, and a few correspondents and a few visitors strongly restricted in their movements, should permit Soviet representatives to roam our land by the thousands. In the light of Canadian experience, it would be the part of wisdom that we insist upon complete reciprocity in such matters.

There is reason to believe that much of our foreign policy is being formulated in an atmosphere of excessive secrecy. While we realize that it would be impractical to have complete publicity for all diplomatic exchanges, yet the secret commitments at Yalta and Teheran were contrary to the spirit of democracy. Moreover, American public opinion has frequently been shocked by some development in international affairs, when our government knew many facts which would have prepared the public to meet the crisis. Such concealment is undemocratic. It is also imprudent, since hasty public reaction to a crisis may be less than satisfactory. Candor and complete honesty alone will permit an enlightened public guidance of our elected officials.

Because the proposals outlined in this section form one of the most important parts of the present study, it might be helpful to repeat them in summary.

1. **Since Communism thrives upon deceit**, exposure of the facts would be

a potent counter weapon. We propose more fact-gathering, competent, impartial, and patriotic. Both private groups and the government have a responsibility here.

2. **In the labor field**, Communism thrives primarily through organization and discipline. Labor unions and non-economic groups, not directly interested in labor's relation with capital, should encourage labor education. This would give the non-Communist majority the training needed to fight their disciplined opponents.
3. **The businessman**, heavily preoccupied with business problems, should concern himself more with the problems of government and should make certain that he learns to detect Communist influence in his labor relations, his business, and other contacts.
4. **Because Communist loyalty** is primarily given to a foreign power, Communists *and* their followers should be excluded from government service. Congress should appropriate adequate funds for a stringent but fair loyalty test.
5. **As an agent of a foreign power**, the Communist Party should be forced by law to reveal its membership, funds, and activities.
6. **In view of the revelation** of Comintern activities throughout the world, the United States should enforce strict reciprocity with the Soviet Union in regard to the number and freedom of movement of nationals of either country within the other.
7. **Our government should follow a policy** of frankness with its citizens in regard to the major facts which enter into the making of our foreign policy.

1. In this connection, the study prepared by the Research Institute of America is of superior quality. It should be required reading for all who handle labor relations.

Conclusion

Collectivism today in the United States is primarily a problem of Communism. This does not mean that Socialism can be dismissed lightly. On the contrary, the tremendous bureaucracy and immense concentration of power which this system would entail would be a real menace. Ultimately, it would be as destructive of our liberties as the more ruthless Communist dictatorship. Nevertheless, Socialism is not an immediate problem in the United States. The Socialist Party is relatively weak, and its appeal too limited, to make it an imminent danger.

There is more danger that many of the evils of Socialism may be introduced through excessive centralization of power in government. This could come about in two ways: The first would be the assigning to government of more and more of the functions which traditionally have been the field of individuals and of private business. The second would be the hampering of business transactions through unwise and unnecessary regulations. This could proceed to such a degree that our free enterprise system might break down. Such a “failure” would then be used as an excuse for replacing the present system with Socialism or Communism. Needless to say, we must be vigilant in protecting ourselves from such dangerous trends.

Nevertheless, Communism must be opposed promptly with the utmost vigor. Not only should it be exposed and checked in this country, but its workings abroad should be told plainly and fearlessly. It is utterly undemocratic. It denies basic liberties to the individual. It tramples under foot the dignity of man. If America is to remain strong and free, it must preserve itself from the encroachments of a system which is utterly alien to its ideals. We have never yet failed to meet a challenge to our freedom.